

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /031 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:RHFROWICK

APPROVED BY EUR:JGLOWENSTEIN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS TOSEC 33

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR UK

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT: BILATERALS -- DISCUSSION WITH
CALLAGHAN ON CSCE

FOLLOWING TEXT SHOULD BE ADDED TO EXISTING INFORMATION
ON CSCE SECTION OF THE SECRETARY'S BRIEFING FOR HIS MEETING
WITH CALLAGHAN:

BEGIN TEXT

UK POSITION. IN BONN GROUP, UK HAS BALKED AT FRENCH
FORMULATION AIMED AT PROTECTING FOUR POWER RIGHTS IN BERLIN
AND IN GERMANY AS A WHOLE, WHICH WAS DRAFTED FOR INCLUSION
IN CSCE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION. BRITISH HAVE URGED
CAUTION TO ENSURE THAT SUCH FORMULATION DOES NOT
INADVERTENTLY BOLSTER THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE. UK HAS
GENERALLY FOLLOWED FRG LEAD ON OBTAINING REFERENCE TO
POSSIBILITY OF "PEACEFUL CHANGE" OF FRONTIERS AND ON A
FORMULA ASSERTING THE "EQUAL VALIDITY" OF ALL CSCE
PRINCIPLES.

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US POSITION. IN BONN GROUP, WE HAVE SUPPORTED FRENCH EFFORTS TO DEVELOP A FORMULATION OF FOUR POWER RIGHTS FOR INCLUSION IN TENTH PRINCIPLE OF PRINCIPLES DECLARATION.

THE SOVIETS HAVE RECENTLY INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT WHILE THEY CAN ACCEPT LANGUAGE COVERING FOUR POWER RIGHTS, THEY BELIEVE IT MIGHT BE BEST LOCATED IN A SEPARATE PARAGRAPH. OUR PRELIMINARY REACTION IS THAT SOVIET SUGGESTION APPEARS ATTRACTIVE, SINCE IT MIGHT HELP OBVIATE DIFFICULTIES OVER BREZHNEV DOCTRINE OCCASIONED BY PLACEMENT OF FRENCH FORMULATION IN THE TENTH PRINCIPLE. RE PEACEFUL CHANGE FORMULATION, WE TABLED CURRENT FORMULATION, ACCEPTED BY GENSCHER, IN JULY AT SPECIFIC REQUEST OF FRG IN THE BONN GROUP FOR PLACEMENT IN THE PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY. GROMYKO HAS SAID, HOWEVER, THAT GERMANS TOLD HIM IN BONN DURING SEPTEMBER 15-16 TALKS THAT TEXT TABLED IN GENEVA REFLECTED A US INITIATIVE. GROMYKO ALSO ALLEGED THAT GENSCHER INDICATED HE COULD GO ALONG WITH THE SOVIET VIEW THAT CSCE PRINCIPLES SHOULD BE "EQUALLY STRICTLY OBSERVED" -- RATHER THAN HAVING "EQUAL VALIDITY" AS THE FRG HAS DEMANDED UP TO THE PRESENT. AGREEING TO THE SOVIET FORMULATION ON "EQUALLY STRICT OBSERVANCE," RATHER THAN BONN'S CALL FOR "EQUAL VALIDITY" OF ALL CSCE PRINCIPLES COULD PERMIT MOSCOW TO CLAIM THAT SOME PRINCIPLES ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN OTHERS. THUS SOVIETS COULD ASSERT THAT "FRONTIER INVIOABILITY" IS MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN "PEACEFUL CHANGE" AND COULD POSSIBLY ARGUE THAT ALLIED FAILURE TO APPLY SUCH PRECEPTS AS THE CSCE "NON-INTERFERENCE" PRINCIPLE WOULD PERMIT USSR TO IGNORE APPLICATION OF PRINCIPLES IT FINDS OBJECTION-ABLE. WE ARE ASKING GERMANS FOR CLARIFICATION OF THEIR VIEWS ON "PEACEFUL CHANGE" AND "EQUAL VALIDITY," IN LIGHT OF GROMYKO ALLEGATIONS.

YOUR TALKING POINTS

-- WE TABLED THE PEACEFUL CHANGE REFERENCE IN GENEVA ONLY AFTER THE FRG HAD SPECIFICALLY AGREED TO THE REVISED FORMULATION AND REQUESTED IN THE BONN GROUP THAT WE TABLE IT BEFORE THE SUMMER RECESS. GROMYKO CLAIMED, HOWEVER,

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THAT HE WAS TOLD IN BONN THAT THE TEXT WE TABLED REPRESENTED A US INITIATIVE AND THAT THE GERMANS DID NOT INSIST ON IT. WE HAVE ASKED THE GERMANS FOR CLARIFICATION OF THEIR CURRENT POSITION ON PEACEFUL CHANGE. MEANWHILE, WHAT IS THE UK VIEW ON THIS ISSUE?

-- ACCEPTANCE OF THE SOVIET FORMULATION FOR "EQUALLY STRICT OBSERVANCE" OR "APPLICATION" OF ALL PRINCIPLES,

RATHER THAN THE FRG "EQUAL VALIDITY" FORMULA, COULD
ENABLE MOSCOW TO ASSERT THAT SOME PRINCIPLES -- I.E.

"FRONTIER INVIOABILITY" -- ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN OTHERS,
TO THUS DOWNPLAY "PEACEFUL CHANGE," AND, POSSIBLY, TO
ARGUE IN THE EVENT OF ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF ANY ONE
PRINCIPLE BETWEEN ALLIES, THAT THE SOVIETS COULD VIOLATE
OTHERS. WHAT ARE CALLAGHAN'S VIEWS ON THIS QUESTION?

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INSTRUCTIONS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 SEP 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: izenbei0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE209915
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: RHFROWICK
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: I
Film Number: P840163-2576, D740267-0855
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740918/aaaaapiw.tel
Line Count: 125
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: ECTED A US INITIATIVE, GROMYKO ALSO, ALLEGED THAT
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: izenbei0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 MAY 2002 by cunninfx>; APPROVED <11 MAR 2003 by izenbei0>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SECRETARY'S VISIT: BILATERALS -- DISCUSSION WITH CALLAGHAN ON CSCE
TAGS: PFOR, PEPR, US, UK, CSCE, (CALLAGHAN, JAMES), (CALLAGHAN)
To: USUN NEW YORK
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005